

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 AID-05 OMB-01
EB-07 ACDA-07 /111 W
-----130434Z 088878/11

R 121455Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3963
INFO AMCONSUL DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANA
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ET, PFOR, SO, UR
SUBJ: MENGISTU VISIT - A VIEW FROM THE HORN

REF: A. MOSCOW 6260, B. ADDIS ABABA 2866, C. MOSCOW 6368,
D. TRIPOLI 0615

SUMMARY: MENGISTU VISIT TO MOSCOW APPARENTLY HIGHLY
SUCCESSFUL FROM EPMG POINT OF VIEW. SOVIETS HAVE
AGGRAVATED THEIR RELATIONS WITH GSDR. MENGISTU ANOINTED
AS TRUE PROGRESSIVE. EPMG, UNDER MENGISTU, NOW CLEARLY IN
SOVIET CAMP. END SUMMARY.

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1. MAY 10 ETHIOPIAN HERALD, HEADLINING "ETHIOPIA-SOVIET
UNION CONDEMN ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL RED SEA", PUBLISHED
TEXTS OF ETHIO-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE AND DECLARATION ON
FUNDAMENTALS OF RELATIONS. COPIES WILL BE POUCHED
TO AF/E. WHILE EMBASSY GENERALLY AGREES WITH
INTERPRETATIONS PROVIDED MOSCOW 6368, WE BELIEVE
SOVIETS HAVE SERIOUSLY AGGRAVATED THEIR RELATIONS

WITH SOMALIA. WE INVITE MOGADISCIO'S COMMENTS.

2. WITH RESPECT PARA 2, REFTEL C, WE BELIEVE REFERENCE TO "IMPORTANCE OF UNITY OF ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES" MORE LIKELY REFERENCE TO ENTIRE SOCIALIST CAMP INCLUDING EASTERN EUROPEANS, CUBANS AND PROGRESSIVE AFRICAN STATES. EXTENT OF SUPPORT RECEIVED BY EPMG FROM EASTERN EUROPE AND CUBANS INDICATES PAST SOVIET PRESSURE, AND EPMG BADLY NEEDS SUPPORT OF AFRICAN PROGRESSIVES AT OAU AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA. WHILE WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE, WE BELIEVE IT LIKELY THAT PODGORNY RAISED MATTER OF SUPPORT FOR ETHIOPIA WITH AFRICAN PROGRESSIVES DURING HIS AFRICAN SAFARI.

3. WITH RESPECT TO ERITREA AND DJIBOUTI, DOCUMENTS CLEARLY AVOID AREAS OF SENSITIVITY. SOVIETS OBVIOUSLY HAVE NO DESIRE TO TAKE SIDES BETWEEN EPMG AND GSDR ON DJIBOUTI ISSUE. SOVIETS MUST ALSO HEDGE ON ERITREA FOR SEVERAL REASONS. FIRST, EVENTUAL OUTCOME ERITREAN INSURGENCY UNCERTAIN. SECOND, WHILE IT LIKELY SOVIETS FAVOR SOLUTION OF ETHIOPIAN NATIONALITIES PROBLEM SIMILAR TO SOVIET SYSTEM OF PSEUDO-INDEPENDENT REPUBLICS, ANY OPEN STATEMENT TO THAT EFFECT WOULD LIKELY RESULT IN IMMEDIATE GSDR PRESSURE ON SOVIETS FOR SOLUTION TO SOMALI NATIONALITY PROBLEM IN OGADEN AND SOUTHWESTERN ETHIOPIA.

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4. UNTIL EARLY 1977, SOVIETS DEMONSTRATED EXTREME CAUTION IN DEVELOPING THEIR RELATIONS WITH EPMG. SINCE THEN OPPOSITE HAS BEEN TRUE. GSDR WELL AWARE OF THIS SHIFT AND WE DOUBT IF ETHIO-SOVIET LANGUAGE WILL IN ANY WAY REASSURE GSDR. WE CONCUR MOSCOW HAS INTENSIFIED ITS DILEMMA AND SUGGEST SOVIET BUREAUCRATIC PROBLEMS MAY BE FACTOR. SOVIETS NO DOUBT SEE ETHIOPIA AS KEY TO HORN, A POLICY USG FOLLOWED FOR MANY YEARS. AT SAME TIME, SOVIETS HAVE NO DESIRE TO ABANDON THEIR MILITARY AND POLITICAL POSITIONS IN SOMALIA. IT WOULD APPEAR FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT THAT IF SOVIETS WISH MAINTAIN THEIR POSITION IN BOTH, IT WILL BE VERY EXPENSIVE PROPOSITION AND WILL REQUIRE MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. WITH SAUDIS IN BIDDING FOR GSDR'S HAND AND INCREASED SOVIET AID TO EPMG, MOGADISCIO WILL NO DOUBT DEMAND HIGH PRICE FOR CONTINUED ALLEGIANCE TO USSR. WE SUSPECT SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS NOT YET DECIDED IF IT WILLING PAY THIS PRICE, AND AS CONSEQUENCE SOVIET

BUREAUCRACY FORCED TO SIT ON FENCE AND LET EVENTS
DICTATE DEVELOPMENTS. BASED ON MENGISTU'S VISIT, WE
FORESEE FURTHER STRAINS BETWEEN SOVIETS AND SOMALIA.

5. IN ADDIS ARRIVAL PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 10, CHAIRMAN
STATED VISIT TO SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN HIGHLY FRUITFUL
AND HE CONVINCED "SOVIET PEOPLE AND GOVT HAVE
FULLY GRASPED REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN ETHIOPIA AS
RESULT OF VISIT AND SUPPORT THEY GIVE US IS REALLY
GREAT". HE STATED, PRESENT REVOLUTIONARY ETHIOPIA'S
RELATIONSHIP WITH USSR BASED ON IDEOLOGY OF COMMON
PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. HE HAD BEEN
ASSURED IN SOVIET UNION THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO SUBVERT
ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION WOULD BE TOTALLY OPPOSED BY
SOVIET UNION AND ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND "ALL
POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE" WOULD BE RENDERED TO ETHIOPIA
TO WITHSTAND AND CRUSH COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ATTEMPTS.

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MENGISTU ALSO STATED, IMPLEMENTATION OF VARIOUS
POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ACCORDS WITH
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SHOULD BE GIVEN PRIORITY.

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6. COMMUNIQUE AND DECLARATION INDICATE SIMILARLY
EPMG HAS THROWN IN ITS LOT WITH SOVIET UNION.
SOVIETS HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED ETHIOPIAN TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY, AND SHOWN WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE FULL
RANGE OF ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AND "OTHER" ASSISTANCE.
WE SUPPORT MOSCOW'S VIEW THAT "OTHER" ASSISTANCE
CLEAR REFERENCE TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE. EPMG ON ITS
PART HAS AGREED TO SUPPORT SOVIET LINE ON BROAD
RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES (DETENTE, DISARMA-
MENT, ARABS-ISRAEL, SOUTHERN AFRICA). MOREOVER, IN
ORDER NOT TO AGGRAVATE ETHIO-SOMALI RELATIONS, EPMG
CRITICISM OF GSDR HAS BEEN MINIMAL SINCE FEBRUARY,
DESPITE GROWING GSDR SUPPORT FOR INSURGENCIES IN
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SOMALI-POPULATED AREAS OF ETHIOPIA.

7. EMBASSY ALSO NOTES WITH INTEREST BREZHNEV STATE-
MENT REPORTED BY ETHIOPIAN MEDIA WHICH INCLUDED
EMPHASIS ON "ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMUNIST
PARTY OF SOVIET UNION AS LEADING AND ORGANIZING
FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY IN ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ALL
TASKS OF SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION."
ETHIOPIA DOES NOT YET HAVE, OF COURSE, A NATIONAL
POLITICAL PARTY, ALTHOUGH MENGISTU'S MAY DAY SPEECH
RECOGNIZED NECESSITY OF FORMING PARTY URGENTLY.
FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTY MAJOR THEME OF LEFTIST
OPPONENTS AND PRO-SOVIET CIVILIAN POLITICAL
ADVISORS OF MENGISTU, AND WE BELIEVE IT LIKELY
SOVIETS HAVE URGED MENGISTU TO PROCEED RAPIDLY WITH
FORMATION OF PARTY. THIS WOULD ELIMINATE OBVIOUS
CONTRADICTION OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
WITHOUT PRESENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTY.

8. EMBASSY NOTES COMMUNIQUE STATES PMAC CHAIRMAN
MENGISTU INVITED BREZHNEV, PODGORNY AND KOSYGIN TO
PAY OFFICIAL VISITS TO ETHIOPIA AND INVITATIONS
WERE ACCEPTED WITH THANKS WITH "TIME OF VISITS
TO BE COORDINATED LATER.
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Message Attributes

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